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to do so in Stiffarm's presence. Making fun to their face of powerful medicine men or so expressing skepticism of their power was evidently not considered prudent.

Skepticism, or at least profession of skepticism, regarding the powers of medicine men or regarding some powers of some medicine man, was not confined to Coming Daylight and her husband, their own skepticism centered mostly on one doctor. We recorded a number of professions of skepticism, but what weight and interpretation should be put on them is not easy to say. Even though Little Man, Coming Daylight's husband, "did not," she said, "believe in Indian doctors," at one time at least, he submitted to treatmenet by Goes Back and became convinced she had extracted the cause of his illness. Another man present at Little Man's cure said, "I too never believed things," but he likewise was convinced when he saw the rag that Goes Back extracted.

In general, our evidence on doctoring points definitely toward the conclusion that the powers of medicine men, both for curing and for causing illness, were all but universally believed in. Such skepticism as prevailed was confirmed to certain individual skeptics and even in these cases or in most of them as regards not doctors in general but only certain individual doctors, and not all powers and procedures of the doctor but only certain ones. Furthermore profession of skepticism need not in all cases of course have been indicative of actual skepticism, and even actual skepticism would give place to belief when the skeptic witnessed cures, or profession of skepticism to profession of belief when the doctor was present. Some of such skepticism as prevailed may well have been a compensation reaction to the size and kind of payment demanded by some doctors. To this matter of payment we now turn.

Payment for Services

Some payment or gift was commonly, perhaps always, made to even the non-professional individual who gathered a medicine for you or gave one to you or who treated you, unless he or she was your very close relative. One who wanted "fish medicine" from a person who had brought it back from Minnesota would buy it from him. Singer remarked: "My mother always taught me: 'If

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you are not feeling well and someone brings you medicine, say, medicine to clear you out after childbirth, and you have nothing else to give the person, just give a dish of food.'" Coming Daylight, who was not a professional doctor, was called about 1928 to attend a childbirth and, when ready to leave after looking after the mother in every way, was given a big sack of flour, a small sack of sugar, and five dollars in cash. Mary Ereaux, in speaking of the two roots given to Coming Daylight by the latter's grandmother to hasten childbirth and to bring the mother's milk quickly, remarked: "They say that if it [either of these roots] is given to an outsider [not a close relative of Coming Daylight], the recipient must pay, else it wouldn't be any good." "Last winter [1939-40]," Mary Ereaux said on another occasion, "I had a cold. An old lady picked some roots for me and I gave her potatoes and eggs in place of this medicine. They believe such medicine does not work if you don't pay for it, no matter how easy it is to gather the particular medicine."

A payment or fee was always expected by the professional doctor for his or her services, unless again the patient was a close relative. The doctor had commonly "paid" well in hardship or goods to acquire his power; he expected to be paid well in turn. And even though he had acquired ownership of it, not the hard way by quest or purchase, but by spontaneous offer from some being or by free gift from some relative, he still "paid" in shortened life and in restrictions on freedom. Doctors did not make their whole living from their practice but the fees received by them, especially by "great" doctors, were substantial additions to income and wealth. This economic goal loomed large in the consciousness of the people and of the professional doctor. When, for instance, Bad Bad Bull's sister refused his offer to her of power to cure stomach sickness, people said to her: "You should have accepted this power and so have gotten a lot of things for curing this disease." Doctoring was an avenue to wealth and to the ease and prestige that came with wealth, but in general was not practiced by the young. It was, however, a form of "old age insurance."

Sometimes professional doctors named their fee before accepting a case. "Give me this or that, and I'll doctor you." At other times